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ABSTRACT

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The Effect of Parenting Styles on Adolescent Problems: A Case of Korean Americans

ED 433 399

Eunai Shrake

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Abstract

When parental socialization occurs in a particular cultural context, differences in children's perceptions of and their responses to parental behavior may be inevitable.

Focusing on Korean Americans, this study examined the overall pattern of adolescents' perception of their parents and its effects on adolescent problem behaviors. Analyses of survey data of 218 Korean American adolescents indicated that Korean American adolescents perceived their parents as "authoritarian yet warm" and that this parenting style had an adverse effect on adolescents' internalizing problems but not on externalizing problems. These findings were explained partly as a function of the Korean American culture and ethnic context. Since these findings differ from European American norms, the study points to the need to consider implications of culture as well as the ethnic experience in understanding the dynamics of parent-child relationships in Asian American families. It also suggests the need for culturally sensitive indices for Asian American parenting research.

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Introduction

For the past decade the high academic achievement among Asian American students has drawn considerable attention from popular media as well as from educational researchers (Newsweek, 1984; The New Republic, 1985; Time, 1987; Ogbu, 1987; Gibson & Bhachu, 1988; Matute-Bianchi, 1986). To explain this phenomenon, some researchers have identified socio-structural factors such as economic status and voluntary minority status of Asian Americans in the host society, while other researchers have focused on intra-familial factors such as family solidarity and specific parenting practice among Asian American as the contributing factors (Stevenson & Lee, 1990; Schneider & Lee, 1990).

However, overshadowed by this high achievement profile, the psychological and behavioral problems of Asian American adolescents have often been overlooked in the field of educational research. In spite of recent reports on the increasing rate of depression, school drop-out, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and juvenile delinquency among Asian American adolescents in general, and Korean American adolescents in particular (Kuo, 1984; Hurh & Kim, 1990; Lorenzo, Pakiz, Rehinherz & Frost, 1995; Yu, 1986; Austin, Prendergast & Lee, 1989), much of the previous research on Asian American adolescents has focused mainly on the academic performance while ignoring other aspects of adolescent development (i.e., psychological and behavioral development).

The present study addresses this important yet neglected area of adolescent development by focusing on how Korean American parenting styles affect their adolescent children's psychological and behavioral development. Specifically, this study examines relationships between perceived parenting styles and internalizing (psychological) as well as externalizing (behavior) problems among Korean American adolescents.

Parenting Styles and Adolescent Problem Behaviors

Traditionally, researchers have attributed the problems besetting adolescents in our society to inadequate parenting, socioeconomic status, low self-esteem, or peer pressure. Of all the factors considered to affect adolescent problems, many empirical studies have emphasized in one way or another poor parenting practice as the most consistent and powerful predictor of adolescent problems ranging from psychological distress to juvenile delinquency (Simons & Robertson, 1989; Patterson, 1982, 1986; Patterson & Dishion, 1985; McCord, 1990). Evidence suggests that inadequate parenting practice in the areas of parental control, parental warmth, and parental monitoring may contribute to the development of problem behaviors in adolescence.

In the area of parental control, the parenting styles commonly found to be correlated with adolescent problems are authoritarian (coercive) control and parental permissiveness. For example, Baumrind suggests the negative effects of authoritarian parenting style on adolescents' psychological development. Her study on adolescents (1991) found that adolescents with authoritarian parents were less competent, less prosocial, and had more internalizing problems (withdrawn, anxious, depressed) than those with authoritative (democratic) parents. In addition, Yee and Flanagan (1985)

found a negative relationship between authoritarian parenting and adolescents' level of self-esteem. Rollins and Thomas (1979) also reported that children's self-esteem and prosocial behavior were negatively associated with the coercive control attempts of parents. Furthermore, some studies indicate that authoritarian control tends to be positively associated with the occurrence of externalizing (behavior) problems in adolescence. For example, in their study of adolescents with behavior problems, Rey et al. (1990) found that clinically referred adolescents perceived their parents as exerting a higher level of coercive control than did normal adolescents. The Patterson studies (1976, 1982) also suggested that parents of children with behavior problems were more controlling and punitive than parents of normal children.

While the above research illustrates the problems associated with parental over-control, other researchers also recognized the problems associated with parental failure to exercise control (e.g., Rutter & Giller, 1983; Kay & Kay, 1986). For example, Rey et al.'s (1990) study of adolescents with conduct problems found that adolescent behavior problems were more likely fostered by a permissive parenting style in which both care and control are lacking. In a study comparing three different types of parental control, Lamborn et al. (1991) also found that adolescents with permissive parents, compared to those with authoritarian or authoritative parents, scored higher on measures of deviant behavior.

In the area of parental warmth, parental hostility has frequently been observed to contribute to adolescents' problem behaviors. Many researchers report that hostile parenting style is significantly linked to the occurrence of internalizing problems in adolescence including low self-esteem, depression, withdrawal, and a passive coping style (Robertson & Simons, 1989; Simons et al., 1989; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). In addition, parental hostility has also been found to be significantly related to externalizing problem behaviors such as aggression, substance abuse, and juvenile delinquency (Campo & Rohner, 1992; Simons & Robertson, 1989; Simons et al., 1989).

Patterson provides a theoretical explanation for this relationship between parental hostility and adolescent externalizing problems. In his coercion model of adolescent antisocial behavior, Patterson (1986, 1995) argues that adolescents with hostile parents tend to be rejected by conventional peers due to their aggressive interpersonal style learned within the family. As a result, these aggressive adolescents drift into deviant peers, which in turn leads to more serious forms of externalizing problem behaviors including aggression and juvenile delinquency. In addition, once an adolescent develops such problem behaviors, his or her behavior may negatively influence the parent-adolescent relationship, eliciting even further hostile reaction from their parents. Supporting this hypothesis, Vuchinich, Bank, and Patterson (1992), in their longitudinal study of preadolescent boys, found evidence of a reciprocal relationship between parental hostility and adolescent antisocial behavior.

Along with parental control and parental warmth dimensions, many clinical as well as modeling studies on adolescent antisocial behavior have identified poor parental monitoring as the consistent and powerful predictor of adolescent problems (Loeber & Dishion, 1983; Patterson & Dishion, 1985). A number of studies indicate that parents of delinquent children provide less monitoring of their children's activities than parents of normal children (Pulkkinen, 1981; Wilson, 1980; Goldstein, 1984). Patterson and Stouthamer-Loeber (1984) found that poor parental monitoring was

highly correlated with adolescent antisocial behaviors including fighting, stealing, lying, cheating, and vandalism. They suggested that parental failure to monitor what goes on in the child's life may hamper both parental discipline and control that have been shown to be important determinants for the child's prosocial development. Further, Snyder, Dishion, and Patterson (1986) argued that poor parental monitoring contributes to the adolescent's association with deviant peers which in turn may increase the adolescent's participation in delinquent activities.

In sum, the previous parenting literature clearly demonstrates that if the adolescent experiences inadequate parenting in the areas of parental control, parental warmth, and parental monitoring, there is a greater probability that he or she will become involved in problem behaviors.

Potential for Problems in Korean American Adolescence

In Korean immigrant families where intergenerational culture conflict exists between first generation parents and second generation adolescent children, even greater potential for the problems may exist in parent-adolescent relationships.

On the one hand, parents who usually adhere to a Korean traditional culture that guarantees great parental authority tend to exert strict control over their children, while second generation adolescents who quickly adopt American values of autonomy and freedom often challenge parental authority. In this context, it is very plausible that adolescents perceive that their parents are too controlling. On the other hand, it is also plausible that first generation parents who are overwhelmed by the cultural difference may become over-acquiescent in adolescents' need for autonomy and thus be perceived as permissive. In other words, the acculturation difference between parents and adolescents in the Korean immigrant family may have a negative impact on the adolescents' perceptions of their parents which in turn may generate greater potential for adolescent problems.

In fact, authoritarian control is the most widely criticized problem in Korean American parenting. Several studies suggest that the highly strict, authoritarian parenting style of Korean Americans is detrimental to adolescent psychosocial maturity because it may impede the adolescents' need for independence and autonomy (Pettengill & Rohner, 1985;, Strom et al., 1986; Nah, 1993). However, a more problematic style of Korean American parenting has been identified by Pai et al. (1987). In their national survey of Korean American adolescents, they found that slightly less than half of the sample (44%) perceived their parents as both authoritarian and permissive, vacillating between the two extremes in exercising parental control. Sometimes parents were very rigid and strict with their children, while at other times they were overly permissive, displaying little guidance for their children's activities. This interesting combination of authoritarian and permissive parenting style implies that Korean American adolescents may find themselves in the worst possible situation for their healthy psychosocial development.

The immigrant context of Korean Americans also seems to affect adolescents' perception of their parents with parental warmth and hostility. For example, some research findings suggest that Korean American children generally perceive their parents as warm and non-rejecting (Rohner, Hahn, & Rohner, 1980; Rohner &

Rohner, 1983; Rohner, Hahn, & Koehn, 1992). However, when parental control and parental warmth dimensions are combined, in contrast to Korean adolescents in Korea who perceived their parents as warm despite their perception of high parental control (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985), Korean American adolescents, similar to their American counterparts, perceived strict parental control in association with parental hostility and rejection (Pattengill & Rohner, 1985). These findings imply the particular effect of the acculturation process on the adolescents' perception of their parents. As Korean American adolescents become more acculturated, they may begin to interpret their parents' strictness as overall rejection. Considering Rohner's contention that parental rejection may induce disturbances in adolescent development, this finding may indicate a likely source for the adjustment problems of Korean American adolescents. However, except for Hahn's (1981) finding of the relationship between parental rejection, low self-esteem, and poor academic performance among Korean American children, no empirical research relating parental hostility to overall adolescent problem behaviors for this group has been conducted.

In addition, despite frequent reports of strong concern for and anxiety about their adolescent children (Kim, Sawdy & Meihoefer, 1982; Nah, 1993), it has been noted that Korean American parents do not focus on providing proper supervision (Yu & Kim, 1983). Aldwin and Greenberger (1987) reported that even in the area of academic problems, Korean American parents do not provide any more supervision for their children than do White American parents. This lack of parental supervision may result from lengthy absences of both parents due to their long work hours to support the family (Kim & Hurh, 1985) as well as a language gap between parents and adolescents (Lee & Cynn, 1991). This parental absence and language problem that are rather typical in the immigrant family context, may present serious implications for problems in Korean American parenting, since parental monitoring involves not only parents' knowledge of the child's activities and friends but also actual supervision of and communication with child (Crouter et al., 1990).

Because much of the previous research concerning the parent-child relationships of Korean Americans has been focused on the children's perceptions of their parents, little is known about the effects of the perceived parenting styles on adolescents' problem behaviors. In this study, I attempt first to identify overall patterns of parenting styles and adolescent problem behaviors, then to identify which parenting styles predict which problem behaviors of Korean American adolescents.

Method

Participants

The study sample consisted of 218 Korean American adolescents residing in the Los Angeles area who attended high schools in the Koreatown, West Los Angeles, San Fernando Valley, and Fullerton areas.

There were 94 males (43.1%) and 124 females (56.9%). Subjects ranged in age from 13 to 18 with a mean of 15.8 years (SD=1.66). Slightly more than half (51.8%) of the subjects were born in Korea and 46.3% were born in the States. However, of the subjects who were born outside the States, approximately 40% came to the States

before the age of six and only 13.7% came after 12 years of age, which indicated that nearly three quarters (73%) of the sample belonged to 2nd generation and only 27% fit Hurh's (1990) description of 1.5 generation. The self-reported mean GPA of the subjects were 3.49 (SD=.56) with a GPA higher than 3.0 making up 77% of the sample. Though about 14% of the subjects reported a GPA lower than 3.0, only one percent reported their GPA was lower than 2.0. Sixty four percent of the fathers and fifty percent of the mothers of the subjects were college graduates. Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the present sample.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of the Study Sample

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Percent
Gender (N=218)				
male	94			43.1%
female	124			56.9%
Age (N=218)		15.764	1.658	
13-15 yrs.	99			45.4%
16-18 yrs.	117			53.7%
missing	2			0.9%
Age to U.S. (N=218)		3.453	4.539	
U.S. born	101			46.3%
1-5 yrs.	47			21.6%
6-11 yrs.	39			17.9%
12-17 yrs.	16			7.3%
missing	15			6.9%
Parents' educational level				
Father (N=218)				
high school graduate	38			17.4%
some college	37			17.0%
college graduate	139			63.8%
missing	4			1.8%
Mother (N=218)				
high school	58			26.6%
some college	47			21.6%
college graduate	109			50.0%
missing	4			1.8%
GPA (N=218)		3.487	0.563	
1.0-1.9	2			1.0%
2.0-2.9	29			13.3%
3.0-3.0	122			56.0%
4.0 & Beyond	46			21.1%
missing	19			8.7%

Measures

Problem Behavior Measures

The Youth Self-Report Inventory (YSR). The YSR (Achenbach, 1991) is a self-report instrument designed to measure the adolescents' emotional and behavioral problems. It includes two scales: (1) a behavior problems scale, which is based on a 112 item checklist of symptomatic behavior; and (2) a social competence scale, composed of reports of after-school activities, hobbies, skills, and peer relationships. In this study, participants completed only behavior problems scale.

The behavior problems scale of the YSR consists of eight core syndromes of problems relevant for adolescents: withdrawn; anxious/depressed; somatic complaints; delinquent behavior; aggressive behavior; social problems; thought problems; and, attention problems. Achenbach designated the first three syndromes as "internalizing" problems, and the next two syndromes as "externalizing" problems. These two groups of problem syndromes have been variously called by other researchers as personality problems versus conduct problems, inhibition versus aggression, and overcontrolled versus undercontrolled. The remaining three syndromes, Achenbach found, did not have consistently high loading on either the internalizing or externalizing factors. Therefore, Achenbach listed these syndromes under the heading "neither internalizing nor externalizing" problems.

Out of 112 items in this behavior problems scale, factor analysis indicated the items actually assigned to all eight syndrome scales are 86 items with 5 overlapping ones. Thus, a total of 81 items were included in the questionnaire for the present investigation. For each item of the scale, respondents were asked to report their behaviors on 3-point scale ranging from Not True (0), Somewhat or Sometimes True (1), to Very True or Often True (2).

Though all of the eight syndromes scales were used as dependent variables in this study, emphasis was given to two major groupings of problem syndromes: internalizing and externalizing. The internalizing problems scale consisted of a total score of items that were answered in the withdrawn, somatic complaints, and anxious/depressed scales. Externalizing problems scale was comprised of sum scores of items in the delinquent behavior and aggressive behavior syndromes scales.

The content validity of the YSR has been established through discriminant analyses, which showed the ability of most YSR items to discriminate significantly between demographically matched referred and nonreferred adolescents (Achenbach, 1991). The YSR problem scales have been found to be internally consistent, with the alpha level ranging between .72 and .89 in this sample, and have demonstrated to have 7-day test-retest reliability of .83 for 15- to 18-year-olds (Achenbach, 1991).

Parenting Style Measures

Parental Authority questionnaire (PAQ). PAQ (Buri, 1991) is a 30-item instrument developed as a readily-accessible, standardized measure of Baumrind's parental control prototypes: authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting

styles (Baumrind, 1971). The measure consists of 10 authoritarian, 10 authoritative, and 10 permissive parenting statements, which are marked on a five-point Likert scale from Almost Never (1) to Almost Always (5). Each item of PAQ is stated from the perspectives of older adolescents or young adults, describing the patterns of authority exercised by their parents when they were growing up.

The authoritarian scale measures the extent to which the parent emphasizes firm limits and controls while providing few reasons or explanations and minimal tolerance for verbal give-and-take. Typical statements are: "My father/mother does not allow me to question any decision that he/she made," and "My father/mother often tells me exactly what he/she wants me to do and how he/she expects me to do it." The authoritative scale measures the degree to which the parent encourages independent behavior, sets reasonable, well-defined rules, and communicates with children. Respondents are asked to assess their parents on statements such as "My father/mother always encourages verbal give-and-take whenever I feel that family rules and restrictions are unreasonable," and "My father/mother gives me clear direction for my behaviors and activities, but he/she is also understanding when I disagree with him/her." The permissive scale measures the extent to which the parent allows the adolescents extreme autonomy and freedom. Examples of item statements include: "My father/mother does not feel I need to obey rules and regulations of behavior simply because someone in authority has established them," and "My father/mother seldom gives me expectations and guidance for my behaviors."

Buri (1991) reported that PAQ has adequate test-retest reliabilities ranging from .77 to .92 over a two-week period and each of the three scales have been internally consistent with alpha levels ranging from .74 to .87. The reliabilities of all three scales for the present sample were similar to those that have been reported for the measure. Alpha coefficients ranged from .84 to .89 in this sample.

It should be noted that the items on the PAQ were reworded in the present tense so that they could be easily read and understood by adolescents. One item in each subscale was deleted due to the complexity of its wording for early adolescents. Thus, only 27 out of 30 items were used. Since each item in the scale is rated on 5-point scale ranging from 1 to 5, and the scale assesses father and mother separately, the range of scores for each subscale extends from a minimum of 9 to a maximum of 45 for each parent.

Child Report of Parental Behavior Inventory (CRPBI). Originally, Schaefer (1965) developed a 10-item scale for each of the 26 concepts of parental behavior, such as sharing, emotional support, affection, ignoring, irritability, and rejection. The 26 concepts in CRPBI were guided by a two-dimensional model of parental behavior which measures love versus hostility and autonomy versus control dimensions. Each item in the inventory is answered on a three-point scale ranging from 1 to 3. Schaefer reported the median internal-consistencies of the scale dimensions for three groups--normal boys, normal girls, and delinquent boys. He reported an alpha=.84 for love, alpha=.78 for hostility, alpha=.69 for autonomy, and alpha=.66. for control. He also demonstrated scale validity through the analysis of differences between the normal and delinquent samples.

Since the PAQ described earlier covered autonomy versus control dimension, the 14 items selected from CRPBI for the present study addressed only the love versus hostility (i.e., warmth versus rejection) dimension. For example, questions like "My parents almost always speak to me with a warm and friendly voice," and "My parents often speak of the good things I do," reflect parental warmth, while questions such as "My parents act as though I'm in the way," or "My parents often say that I'm stupid or dumb," address parental rejection. Following the PAQ format, this measure was reformatted to a 5-point scale ranging from Almost Never (1) to Almost Always (5).

For the present sample, the Cronbach's alpha was .90 for the parental warmth scale and .87 for the parental hostility scale.

Monitoring Scale. This 16-item composite of parental monitoring practices consists of two subscales measuring attempted and actual monitoring. Scales for the attempted monitoring and the actual monitoring are drawn from Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, and Dornbusch's (1991) parenting measure.

The attempted monitoring scale is comprised of 8 items which ask respondents to assess on 3-point scale (1=Don't Try, 2=Try a Little, 3=Try a Lot), how much their parents *try* to know about the issues like "Who your friends are," and "Where you are most afternoons after school." The actual monitoring scale repeats the 8 items of the attempted monitoring scale but asks respondents to rate how much their parents *really* know about their activities. Responses are "Don't Know (1)," "Know a Little (2)," and "Know a Lot (3)."

Total item scores for each scale were calculated to assess levels of attempted monitoring and actual monitoring. High total scores reflected high levels of parental monitoring, while low total scores indicated poor parental monitoring in both scale measures. For the present sample, reliability analysis yielded Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .79 for attempted monitoring and .84 for actual monitoring.

Results

Overall Patterns of Perceived Parenting Styles and Adolescent Problems

Perceived Parenting Styles

Table 2 provides descriptive information about the overall patterns of perceived parenting styles and adolescent problem behaviors. Descriptive analysis of the data suggested that Korean American adolescents in the present sample perceived their parents as primarily authoritarian in exercising parental control though the perception of authoritative parenting style was also relatively high. They also perceived their parents as warm and having good monitoring practice.

Out of a possible maximum score of 45, the total mean on the authoritarian scale was 28.18, while that on the authoritative scale was 27.47. In addition, on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, about 53.6 percent of all respondents rated their parents as 3 or higher on the authoritarian scale and approximately 49.3 percent of them rated their parents as 3 or higher on the authoritative scale. Respondents rated their parents lowest on permissive style, with its total mean being 22.16. Only 20.3 percent of all

respondents rated their parents as 3 or higher on the permissive parenting scale. They also rated their parents higher on parental warmth than parental hostility. Out of a possible maximum score of 35, the total mean on the parental warmth scale was 22.20, whereas the total mean on the parental hostility scale was 15.18. Concerning the parental monitoring practice, although the whole sample assessed their parents relatively high on the both scales, they reported their parents higher on attempted monitoring (19.00) than actual monitoring (16.42).

The finding that Korean American parents are perceived as primarily authoritarian yet also authoritative contradicts the Pai et al.'s (1987) finding of authoritarian/permissive parenting style in which Korean American parents vacillated between the two extremes of parental control. The contradiction may be due to difference in samples. Compared to Pai et al.'s sample which contained many first and 1.5 generation Korean American adolescents, the sample in the present investigation involved mostly second generation Korean American adolescents. In other words, the length of residence in the States of the adolescents in this study is longer than Pai et al.'s sample, which is an indication of a higher acculturation level of their parents which in turn may have influenced their parenting practices.

Table 2

Means , Range, and Standard Deviations for Measures

	M	SD	Range
Parental Control			
Authoritarian	28.18	6.97	9-45
Authoritative	27.47	6.41	9-45
Permissive	22.16	5.58	9-45
Parental Warmth			
Warmth	22.20	5.89	7-35
Hostility	15.19	5.43	7-35
Monitoring			
Actual	16.42	3.86	8-24
Attempted	19.00	3.24	8-24
Problem Behaviors			
Internalizing	50.15	11.55	32-96
Externalizing	47.66	11.40	31-93

However, the most interesting finding is that Korean American adolescents in the present sample perceived their parents as warm despite their perceptions of high authoritarian control. This finding of a "authoritarian yet warm" parenting style is somewhat intriguing since most previous researchers have argued that adolescents tend to perceive authoritarian control in association with parental hostility and rejection (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). This result also contradicts the Pettengill and Rohner's (1985) finding that Korean American adolescents compared to Korean adolescents in Korea tend to associate authoritarian control with parental hostility. The contradiction should be viewed in relation to the regional difference in samples. Compared to Pettengill and Rohner's sample which was recruited mainly from areas of Connecticut where general acculturation levels of Asian Americans are relatively high, the sample in this study was from Los Angeles area where cultural preservation among Asian Americans is relatively high. Thus, this finding of a "authoritarian yet warm" parenting style seems to demonstrate the culture-specific characteristics of Korean American parenting style in which authoritarian control is often accompanied by great sacrifice by the parents for their children.

Adolescent Problem Behaviors

As shown in Table 2, Korean American adolescents in the present sample reported slightly higher internalizing problems than externalizing problems on the average. Out of a possible maximum score of 96, the mean score of the internalizing problem scale was 50.15, while the mean of the externalizing problem scale was 47.66 out of a possible maximum of 93.

Among internalizing problems, the most frequent problem syndrome reported by all respondents was the withdrawn syndrome, with its mean score comprising 55 percent of the maximum score. The second most frequent internalizing problem reported by respondents was the anxious/depressed syndrome, whose mean score comprised 53 percent of the maximum score. Somatic complaints was the least prevalent problem, with its mean score making up 49 percent of the maximum score. In regards to externalizing problems, adolescents reported higher on aggressive behavior (53 percent of the maximum score) than on delinquent behavior (49 percent of the maximum score).

The more detailed descriptions of problem behaviors utilizing t tests demonstrated that boys reported more frequent externalizing problems than girls (t=2.37, df=213, p<.02), while girls tended to experience higher levels of internalizing problems (t=-1.94, df=214, p<.05).

When problem behavior scores were compared by age grouping, older adolescents seemed to report more frequent internalizing as well as externalizing problems than younger adolescents. However, t tests revealed that age difference was not statistically significant on either scales.

GPA level was a significant factor on the total externalizing problems (F=14.18, df=2, p=.000). Post hoc ANOVAs revealed that the lowest GPA group reported more frequent externalizing than the two higher GPA group adolescents. No significant GPA difference was found on any of the three internalizing problem syndromes scales.

Also noticeable was that age to U.S. and parents' education level did not appear to be significant on any of the problem scales.

Relationships between Parenting Styles and Problem Behaviors

Apart from the initial goal of identifying overall patterns of perceived parenting styles and problem behaviors among Korean American adolescents, the main purpose of this study is to identify which parenting style variables predict adolescent problem behaviors over and above that predicted by demographic variables. In order to achieve this purpose, the following hypotheses were tested via multiple regression analyses.

Hypothesis 1: Authoritarian parenting style has an adverse effect on both the internalizing and externalizing problems in Korean American adolescents.

Hypothesis 2: Authoritative parenting style has an inverse relationship with both the internalizing and externalizing problems in Korean American adolescents.

Hypothesis 3: Permissive parenting style has an adverse effect on the externalizing problems in Korean American adolescents.

Hypothesis 4: Parental hostility has an adverse effect on both the internalizing and externalizing problems in Korean American adolescents.

Hypothesis 5: Parental actual monitoring has an inverse relationship with both the internalizing and externalizing problems in Korean American adolescents.

To test these hypotheses, separate regressions were carried out for externalizing problems and for internalizing problems. In selecting predictor (independent) variables, five parenting composites (authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, parental hostility, actual monitoring) were selected. Parental warmth and attempted monitoring scales, which were highly correlated with parental hostility and actual monitoring respectively, were deleted from the predictor variables in order to avoid the problem of multicollinearity. In addition, for the internalizing problems, the permissive parenting scale was also deleted from the predictor variables due to the lack of empirical evidence of this variable in its relationship with internalizing problems. Selected demographic variables such as gender, length of residence, and parents' education level were controlled for in each regression.

Parents' scores for the parental control scales (authoritarian, authoritative, permissive) and parental hostility scale were created by averaging father's scores and mother's scores. Parents' education level, which was the sole indicator of adolescents' SES in this study, was computed by averaging father's education and mother's education. In addition, a length of residence variable was created by subtracting adolescents' age when they came to the U.S. from their present age.

In conducting regression analyses, a hierarchical approach using blockwise entry was used to evaluate the above hypotheses. The demographic variables grouped

in the first block were forced to enter first. Then, the parenting variables grouped in the second block were entered, using the stepwise method. All hypotheses were tested for a significance level of .05 after controlling for all three demographic variables. The results of regression analyses are presented in Table 3 for the internalizing problems and Table 4 for the externalizing problems.

Parenting Styles and Internalizing Problems

The results in Table 3 shows that when the internalizing problems were regressed on demographic and parenting variables, five predictor variables in the equation accounted for about 14 percent of the variance of the outcome variable. Even after controlling for demographic variables, the two parenting variables (authoritarian parenting and parental hostility) together explained almost 14 percent of the variance, indicating a significant predictive relationship of these two parenting variables with internalizing problems.

As shown in the table, none of the control variables were found to be significant, demonstrating that adolescents' demographic backgrounds were weak predictors of internalizing problems. Among parenting variables, authoritarian parenting and parental hostility showed significant effects on the outcome variable. As expected, when the directions of the effects were examined, both authoritarian parenting (beta=.1875, p=.015) and parental hostility (beta=.2722, p=.001) had significant positive effects on the outcome variable, indicating that adolescents who perceived their parents as more authoritarian or more hostile were more likely to experience internalizing problems. In contrast, authoritative parenting showed a weak negative effect on the internalizing problems, though statistically insignificant. In addition, actual monitoring did not have a significant effect on internalizing problems.

The regression results lead to acceptance of the first half of hypothesis 1, which hypothesized a significant adverse effect of authoritarian parenting on the frequency of adolescents' internalizing problems, and hypothesis 4, which hypothesized a significant adverse effect of parental hostility on the frequency of internalizing problems. The first half of hypotheses 2 and 5, which hypothesized inverse relationships of authoritative parenting and actual monitoring respectively, were rejected.

The results are consistent with previous parenting literature which has demonstrated the harmful effect of authoritarian parenting (Baumrind, 1991; Yee & Flanagan, 1985) and parental hostility (Robertson & Simons, 1989; Simons et. al, 1989) on adolescent psychological development.

However, authoritative parenting was not found to be significant in influencing internalizing problems. The finding that authoritative parenting was not a predictor of internalizing problems is surprising since this result contradicts previous research findings which demonstrated a strong inverse relationship between authoritative parenting style and adolescents' psychological problems (Steinberg, 1990; Baumrind, 1991). One possible explanation for this discrepancy could be differences in instrumentation. Unlike other instruments used in the previous studies, the Parental Authority Questionnaire utilized in the present study did not allow respondents to categorize their parents into specific parenting style groups. Instead, it allowed each

Table 3
Summary of Multiple Regression of Internalizing Problems on Demographic and Parenting Style Variables

----------Variables in the equation----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T	Accumulative R^2
Demographic V.						
Gender	2.6684	1.6164	.1187	1.651	.1007	
Peducation	-.7555	1.1710	-.0472	-.645	.5197	
Length Res	-.0195	.1938	-.0073	-.101	.9200	.0176
Parenting V.						
Hostility	.2811	.0798	.2722	3.521	.0006	.1309
Authoritarian	.1477	.0603	.1875	2.448	.0154	.1612

Total R^2=.1612
Adjusted R^2=.1359
F = 6.3795
p <.0001

----------Variables not in the equation----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Authoritative	-.1491	-.1361	.6771	-1.765	.0794
Actl. Monitor.	-.0594	-.0560	.6832	-.720	.4726

respondent to rate their parents in all three parental control styles. This difference in measurement may have resulted the discrepant findings.

Parenting Styles and Externalizing Problems

Table 4 shows that when the externalizing problems were regressed on both parenting and demographic variables, five predictor variables in the equation explained 17 percent of the variance in the externalizing problems. Partialling out the proportion of the variance accounted for by the three demographic variables, two parenting variables (parental hostility and actual monitoring) alone accounted for about 13 percent of the variance. Of the five parenting variables, parental hostility had the most significant independent effect (beta=.2563, p=.002) on the outcome variable,

indicating that adolescents who perceived their parents as more hostile were more likely to engage in externalizing problems. In addition, actual monitoring also showed a moderately significant inverse effect on the outcome variable (beta= -.1593, p=.051). This inverse relationship indicates that actual monitoring had a positive implication in reducing adolescents' externalizing problems. In other words, after controlling for the effect of demographic variables, externalizing problems were strongly predicted by high ratings on parental hostility and moderately predicted by low ratings on actual monitoring. Interestingly, however, none of the parental control variables (authoritarian, authoritative permissive) were found to have a significant effect on externalizing problems.

Table 4
Summary of Multiple Regression of Externalizing Problems on Demographic and Parenting Style Variables.

----------Variables in the equation----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T	Accumulative R^2
Demographic V.						
Gender	-3.9370	1.5873	-.1787	-2.480	.0142	
Peducation	.8564	1.1458	.0535	.747	.4559	
Length Res	.4173	.1946	.1556	2.144	.0335	.0708
Parenting V.						
Hostility	.2664	.0832	.2563	3.203	.0016	.1771
Actl. Monit.	-.4583	.2340	-.1693	-1.958	.0510	.1962

Total R^2=.1962
Adjusted R^2=.1713
F=7.8618
p<.0001

----------Variables not in the equation----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Authoritarian	-.0531	-.0555	.7071	-.703	.4828
Authoritative	-.0512	-.0449	.6173	-.568	.5708
Permissive	.0951	.1033	.7361	1.314	.1906

Therefore, the second half of hypotheses 4 and 5, which hypothesized significant relationships of parental hostility and actual monitoring to the externalizing problems, were supported by the data, while the second half of hypotheses 1, 2, and 3, which hypothesized significant relationships between parental control variables (authoritarian, authoritative, permissive) and externalizing problems, were rejected.

The finding that authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were unrelated to externalizing problems was surprising since this contradicts the previous research findings that indicated high correlations of authoritarian parenting and parental permissiveness with deviant behavior of adolescents (Baumrind, 1978; Lavietes, 1985; Lamborn et al., 1991; Rey & Plapp, 1990; Olweus, 1980). However, this set of findings seems to support the contention of previous researchers that parental hostility and monitoring dimensions are better predictors of adolescent problem behaviors than the parental control dimension of parenting style (Rohner, 1986; Patterson, 1986; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984; Snyder, Dishion & Patterson, 1986).

Among the demographic variables, gender (beta=-.1787, p=.014) was a significant predictor of the outcome variable, with the minus sign indicating that girls had less externalizing problems than boys. In addition, length of residence in the U.S. (beta=.1556, p=.034) showed a significant positive effect on the outcome variable, demonstrating that a longer stay in the U.S. increased adolescents' likelihood of having more externalizing problems. It may not be surprising that girls had less frequent externalizing problems. However, the finding that adolescents who stayed in the U.S. longer (who are mostly second generation Korean American adolescents) had more externalizing problems is an interesting result. This finding may be explained by looking at the relationship between length of residence in the U.S. and the assimilation level of adolescents. Adolescents with extended length of residence in the U.S. may have become more Americanized, losing traditional Asian traits of being cautious in expression of feelings and social introversion (Sue & Wagner, 1973), while acquiring more aggressive styles of behavior. This in turn may increase the probability of "acting out" and thus involvement in externalizing problems.

To summarize the regression results for both internalizing and externalizing problems, of all parenting style variables, parental hostility consistently emerged as a significant and best predictor of both problem behaviors. When the three parenting dimensions were compared, the parental control dimension (indexed as authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive) was found to be more pertinent in explaining internalizing problems while the monitoring dimension was more relevant in explaining externalizing problems. As stated earlier, parental warmth and hostility dimension was effective in explaining both externalizing and internalizing problems.

Summary and Conclusion

Overall Patterns of Perceived Parenting Styles and Problem Behaviors

The study's finding that the authoritarian parenting style was the most predominant parenting style perceived by Korean American adolescents is consistent with previous research on Korean American parenting styles (Pettengill & Rohner,

1985; Strom et al., 1986; Nah, 1993). Interestingly, however, adolescents also perceived their parents as authoritative in exercising parental control.

The perceptions of primarily authoritarian yet also authoritative parenting style may be an indication of adhesive adaptation (Hurh & Kim, 1984) by Korean American parents. In their study of Korean immigrants, Hurh and Kim argued that first generation Korean Americans tend to adopt American cultural beliefs and behaviors without discarding their native cultural beliefs. In this sense, Korean American parents adopting American values may have allowed a certain amount of autonomy and freedom in their adolescent children. At the same time, however, by still holding traditional beliefs of hierarchical relationship, they may have demanded respect for parental authority and obedience from their children.

In contrast, other researchers viewed this adaptive pattern as cultural confusion. For example, Lee (1989), in his study of the childrearing practices of Korean American mothers, illustrates the cultural confusion experienced by Korean American parents. His finding indicates that Korean American parents vacillate between traditional Korean values and modern American values in their parenting practice. They persist in Korean values in the areas of emotional independence training, types of punishment, and differential gender roles, while they undergo changes in the areas of training in physical independence, types of rewards, and handling aggression. Strom, Park, and Daniels' (1986) study also suggests that Korean American parents are making some practical shifts from traditional Korean values but still hold traditional Korean values such as the hierarchical family structure by age and gender. Thus, it is likely that this dual system of cultural values in Korean American parenting may have generated the perceptions of primarily authoritarian yet also authoritative parenting by the adolescents in the sample.

However, the most striking discovery was that Korean American adolescents perceived their parents as warm despite their perceptions of strict authoritarian control. The finding of an "authoritarian yet warm" parenting style is an interesting combination of parental control and parental warmth dimensions which contradicts the widely held (conventional) belief that the perception of authoritarian parenting is associated with the perception of parental hostility and rejection.

Rohner and Pettengill (1985) speculated that this contrast may be due to different values in American and Korean cultures. In other words, different cultural values would provide different criteria to interpret the adolescent-parent relationship, which in turn generates different perceptions of parental control by adolescent children. For example, American adolescents, who value autonomy and individualism, may interpret strict parental control as parental rejection of their individuality and their ability to do things on their own. In contrast, Korean American adolescents who still show deference to parental authority and interdependence may translate authoritarian control attempts by parents into parental care or desire to help them become good and successful.

Another factor which may have affected adolescents' perceptions of authoritarian control would be the survival strategy of Korean American parents in American society, which is reflected in parental behaviors. Specifically, Korean American parents often combine strict parental control with great expectations and sacrifices for their children in order to secure their children's future socio-economic

success, which was difficult to achieve for themselves. Being aware of this parental sacrifice and expectations, Korean American adolescents may perceive strict authoritarian control without negative implications of parental hostility.

In this context, the finding of an "authoritarian yet warm" parenting style perceived by Korean American adolescents seems to be a product of Korean cultural values combined with the survival strategy of Korean American families in American society. This parenting style may be common in other Asian American parents who share similar cultural beliefs and survival strategies that place great care and expectations for their children by way of parental sacrifice. The question of how this parenting style affects adolescent personalities and behaviors will be discussed in the following sections.

Findings of overall patterns of adolescent problem behaviors indicate that Korean American adolescents experience slightly more internalizing problems than externalizing problems. The most frequent internalizing problem reported by adolescents was withdrawn syndrome, whereas the most frequent externalizing problem was aggressive behavior. Boys seemed to have more frequent externalizing problems, while girls tended to experience more internalizing problems.

Although some researchers noted that the observed gender difference in problem behavior patterns may be universal across culture (Weine, Phillips, & Achenbach, 1995; Rohner, 1976), it may also be partly due to differential gender typing in Asian culture. As Whiting and Edwards (1988) suggested, gender role is an integral component of the socialization process of children in the family. In the Confucian family structure, the male and female are imposed upon by different family expectations and responsibilities. The male is expected to be more assertive, outgoing, and is allowed to be involved in outside home activities. The female is expected to obey, comply without self-assertion, and is more restricted in outside social activities than the male. This gender role difference is often played out in conflicting ideas between parents and girls in the areas of dating, socializing, dress, and career choices. In addition, girls are expected to do more family chores such as cooking, cleaning and even taking care of younger siblings.

In this context, as girls are exposed to American culture and society, which claims to value gender equality, the contrast between family environment and the outside home context could be the possible sources of psychological distress and conflict in girls. Boys, on the other hand, being granted more freedom to participate in outside social activities, become more active and aggressive as they acquire American active style of behaviors. If not well monitored, they may easily get involved with delinquent peers, which increases the probability of engaging in delinquent behaviors.

Effects of Parenting Styles on Problem Behaviors

Overall, the predictive relationships between perceived parenting styles and adolescent problem behaviors observed in the present study were similar to those presented in the literature. Previous research on adolescent problems has found poor parenting practice (i.e., authoritarian parenting, parental hostility, and poor monitoring) to be the most consistent and powerful predictor of adolescent problems

ranging from psychopathology (internalizing problems) to juvenile delinquency (externalizing problems).

In this study, adolescents' perception of parental hostility was positively related to both externalizing and internalizing problems. Parental monitoring was inversely related to externalizing problems, whereas authoritarian parenting was positively related to internalizing problems. In other words, of all parenting dimensions, parental hostility consistently emerged as the most significant and best predictor of both externalizing and internalizing problems. However, concerning the parental control dimension, only authoritarian control was found to be pertinent in explaining internalizing problems. The finding that neither authoritative nor permissive parenting style had any effect on adolescents' problem behaviors contradicts the previous research findings. Furthermore, unlike previous research findings, authoritarian parenting was unrelated to externalizing problems.

The different findings concerning parental control dimension demonstrate the role of culture in the effects of parenting styles on children's behaviors. As with any study that deals with a minority culture, individuals with different cultural outlooks may interpret particular concepts differently from majority group members. In other words, a different cultural/ethnic context may not only generate different parenting practices, but also the different perceptions of parenting styles and responses to it. For example, Korean American parents exercise strict parental control in order to prevent their children from getting into trouble, while they exert great parental sacrifice in order to ensure their children's success. This combination of authoritarian control with parental sacrifice, on the one hand, may have diluted the negative effect of authoritarian parenting style on adolescents' behavior development. On the other hand, overly strict parental control combined with excessive pressure to succeed, may have imposed a psychological burden on adolescents, resulting in a negative effect on personality growth in adolescents. Therefore, this study suggests that future studies on parent-child relationships in immigrant families should consider the impact of culture and immigration experiences on these relationships.

According to the contextual/ecological perspective of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the individual's characteristics and his or her immediate context influence each other. On the one hand, parental behaviors (immediate context) may affect adolescent behaviors (individual characteristics). As such, results from the present study suggest that parents should attempt to establish a warmer parent-adolescent relationship and develop better monitoring skills, if they want to decrease problem behaviors in their adolescent children. On the other hand, adolescent's behavior may influence parental behaviors. In other words, if problems in adolescents decrease, the stress in the family environment is likely to decrease, which may result in a change in parental behaviors, and then in the change of adolescents' perceptions of their parents. Therefore, the results also suggest the need for intervention programs (e.g., psychological counseling) targeted to reduce adolescent problems in the school as well as community context.

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